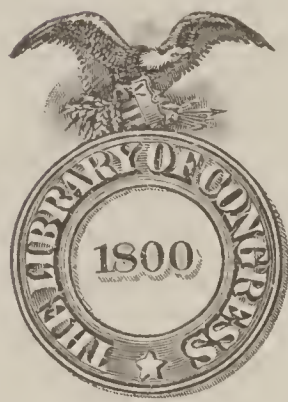


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Speech
on
Civil Service Reform
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CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM A DELUSION AND A SHAM UNDER
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE HALE,
OF MAINE,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 11, 1888.

WASHINGTON.
1888.

Civil-Service Reform.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE HALE.

Mr. HALE moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the following resolution:

Whereas sections 11 and 14 of "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," approved January 16, 1883, provide as follows:

"SEC. 11. That no Senator, or Representative, or Territorial Delegate of the Congress, or Senator, Representative, or Delegate elect, or any officer or employé of either of said Houses, and no executive, judicial, military, or naval officer of the United States, and no clerk or employé of any department, branch, or bureau of the executive, judicial, or military, or naval service of the United States, shall, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, or be in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription, or contribution, for any political purpose whatever, from any officer, clerk, or employé of the United States, or any department, branch, or bureau thereof, or from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the Treasury of the United States.

"SEC. 14. That no officer, clerk, or other person in the service of the United States shall, directly or indirectly, give or hand over to any other officer, clerk, or person in the service of the United States, or to any Senator or member of the House of Representatives, or Territorial Delegate, any money or other valuable thing on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever."

And whereas the spirit of said act has been interpreted by the President and by the Commissioners of the Civil Service Commission charged with its execution as forbidding all officers of the General Government from offensively participating in political conventions and elections, the President, in his order addressed to the heads of the Departments in the service of the General Government, dated July 14, 1886, setting forth his reasons for the same, as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, July 14, 1886.

"To the Heads of the Departments in the service of the General Government:

"I deem this a proper time to especially warn all subordinates in the several Departments and all office-holders under the General Government against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities. Office-holders are the agents of the people—not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the Government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials. They should also constantly remember that their party friends from whom they have received preferment have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

"The influence of Federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair, and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns. Individual interest and activity in political affairs

are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges, but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding. A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easy, in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those intrusted with official place and a consideration of the necessity under our form of government of political action free from official coercion. You are requested to communicate the substance of these views to those for whose guidance they are intended.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

And Commissioner Oberly, in his letter to the Illinois Democratic Association, dated September 29, 1887, interpreting the statute as follows:

"Now, does it not follow that officers, clerks, and other persons in the service of the United States, who are organized for political purposes, and who by initiation fees, dues, and contributions defray the expenses of this organization, are violating sections 11 and 14 of the civil-service act? They are giving—they are handing over—to officers, clerks, or other persons in the service of the United States, and these persons, acting as officers of the association, as the representatives of the associated officers, clerks, and other persons in the service of the United States, are receiving money for political purposes, money to be applied to the promotion of political objects."

And whereas it is alleged that, notwithstanding the provisions of said act, and notwithstanding the interpretation placed upon the same by the authorities as above quoted, numerous Federal officers, appointed by the present Administration, have unduly and offensively exhibited a pernicious activity both in nominating conventions and in the elections following: Therefore,

Resolved, That a select committee, to consist of seven Senators, be, and the same is hereby, constituted and appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine fully into the present condition of the civil service in all branches of the Government, to ascertain whether the appointments in said service have been based upon merit and qualifications or have been distributed as partisan favors; and further to fully examine and report as to the offensive participation of officers and employes of the General Government in political conventions and elections.

Said committee is hereby authorized to employ a clerk and stenographer, and shall have power to administer oaths, send for persons and papers; to sit in Washington or such other places as may be necessary, and to conduct its investigations through subcommittees, the expenses of the same to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate; and a full report of its proceedings shall be made to the Senate at as early a day as is practicable.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL. I intended to offer an amendment to the resolution. I will not offer it at this time, as the Senator from Maine, I see, desires to make some remarks upon the resolution. I did not know that that was the intention for which it was called up.

Mr. HALE. I will do whatever is agreeable to the Senator.

Mr. COCKRELL. I shall not offer the amendment at this time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Maine has the floor.

Mr. HALE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: This resolution has been offered with the sincere purpose of securing such an investigation as will disclose to Congress and to the American people the present condition of the civil service of the Government, and the performances of high and low officials in that service, as bearing upon a subject which, of late years, has assumed in our politics a position of considerable importance.

Since the establishment of the Government of the United States the extent of its civil service has kept pace with the remarkable growth of the country in territory, wealth, and population. All the old Departments have become swollen to an extent never dreamed of by the fathers, and new Departments have been created to meet the wants of the people in doing business with their Government. A hundred questions are

passed upon every week by the Federal officials, touching the rights of citizens, the subjects of which had no being when the Government was inaugurated. In the customs, in the public lands, in patents, in the post-office, in the Territories, and in our foreign relations a hundred men are needed to-day to do the work which was formerly done by two or three clerks. All the great business of the internal revenue is a new creation, and the Pension Bureau is a little world of affairs in itself.

With all this has come a vast increase of responsibility, resting primarily upon the head of the Government and upon those who are called by him to preside over the different Departments.

The extent and power of patronage have increased, to the alarm of many thoughtful men. As the years have gone by the American people have seen different changes of administration, and generally the rule has been that each administration during the last fifty years has filled the offices with its political friends. When Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office on the 4th day of March, 1861, I venture to say that the proverbial hunting for a needle in a hay-stack would have been a no more futile effort than would have been the search for a Republican holding office under the General Government. The Democratic party stood as the exponent of the proposition that "To the victors belong the spoils."

During the eventful years that rested with their solemn responsibilities upon Mr. Lincoln's shoulders the vast concerns in which his administration became involved led to an equally vast increase in nearly every branch of the service, and to fill these new places, as well as the old ones, Mr. Lincoln's administration looked to the loyal population of the country in making its appointments. The test was not so much politics as loyalty, and Republicans and war Democrats received appointment and promotion both in the field and in the civil service of the Government. Not a few of these beneficiaries so selected have within the last three years been turned out, in many cases to the charities of a cold world, to make places for those who neither had in the war nor now have any sympathy with the cause that Mr. Lincoln so faithfully represented.

During the time that has elapsed since the war the Republican party has held the reins, with the exception of the few years of Andrew Johnson's troubled and fractious administration, and, with the exception of those years, most appointments in the civil service have been of persons in political sympathy with the administration.

We have all seen that in late years it became a grievance and a scandal in the minds of many sincere, earnest, and patriotic men that appointments should be so made. Civil-service-reform associations took up the subject in all parts of the country and discussed it and formulated their views, demanding reform, which were submitted to the President and to Congress, and to the legislative and executive branches of the governments in different States.

Inseparably connected with this agitation, and, perhaps, in a large degree accounting for the growing sentiment behind it, was the alleged offensive participation of men holding Federal office in the politics of the country. The men and the associations who brought forward this grievance and who abhorred this scandal declared that not only the elections but the primaries and the caucuses which selected candidates to be supported by the different parties were under the manipulation and control of those who were generally known as and called "office-holders." It was proclaimed everywhere by those who urged the reform, and the cry was taken up by Democratic newspapers and orators,

that the vast army of men holding office, numbering near a hundred thousand, stood as a menace, and might at any time stifle the expression of the people's voice when a change of administration should be honestly demanded.

Late Republican administrations have recognized the force of this sentiment, and General Grant and President Hayes, during their respective administrations, sought to conform as far as might be with the reasonable demands of this agitation, and during the second session of the Forty-seventh Congress, in 1883, a Republican Congress enacted the statute from which I have quoted in my resolution, which statute was approved by a Republican President and became the law of the land.

President Arthur honestly and faithfully set the machinery of this statute to work and in all the appointments to the classes covered by its provisions strictly followed its directions. The comparison that I would suggest between President Arthur's course in this matter and the course of his successor is that President Arthur, as in all things in which he engaged, made no proclamation of his superior virtue in starting out, but contented himself with modestly and earnestly doing his duty under the law. He was not claqued and applauded, but none the less he was a practical and earnest civil-service reformer. I have not heard the contrary asserted or claimed. In transmitting the report of the Civil Service Commissioners, February 28, 1884, to Congress he says: "Upon the good result which this law has already accomplished I congratulate Congress and the people, and I avow my conviction that it will henceforth prove to be of still more signal benefit to the public service." The Republican party, which President Arthur represented, was content to see the operation of the civil-service-reform statute carried out through the land. A noticeable change took place in the construction of its party organizations, both in national and State politics, and all men holding office under the Government or connected in any way with its executive or legislative departments disappeared from its national, State, and local committees, and the management of its organizations through such committees passed into other hands. Like the acts of President Arthur, this was done with no flourish of trumpets, but simply as a tribute of obedience to the spirit of the law which had been enacted.

I have not yet seen any recognition of this action of the leaders of the Republican party from any of the organizations which assume to represent civil-service reform throughout the country.

It is but fair to say for the persons who constituted the civil service of the Federal Government at the time when the statute was enacted that in a vast majority of cases no complaint was made against them; they attended to their duties faithfully; they were good citizens, appreciated by their neighbors and friends. The administration of the Government through their labors had been conducted under one party for nearly twenty-five years with unexampled success. The percentage of deficits, of defalcations and embezzlements and losses to the Government in all its vast transactions had steadily decreased, so that under the last Republican administration the rates of the losses was so small as compared with the corresponding rate in the last Democratic administration that the general charges of inefficiency and corruption were listened to by no well-informed man. It is worth the while here for me to read the tables showing the rates of such losses during the last forty years:

Ratios of Democratic defalcations compared with Republican honesty.

Administration.	Period of service.	Total.			Total.			Recapitulations.		
		Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Amount involved.	Total losses.	Loss on \$1,000.
Washington	Years.	\$56,448,721	\$210,551	\$3.72	\$55,426,822	\$38,497	\$0.69	\$112,560,503	\$250,970	\$2.22
Adams	8	46,085,418	42,249	.91	43,811,926	190,950	4.35	90,733,611	335,411	2.59
Jefferson	8	108,238,977	287,260	2.65	107,686,811	303,834	2.82	219,072,736	603,467	2.75
Madison	8	266,246,511	294,975	1.10	255,105,106	1,855,446	7.27	526,764,049	2,191,600	4.16
Monroe	8	178,649,964	629,946	3.52	188,437,779	2,492,535	13.22	376,328,274	3,229,787	8.58
Adams	4	97,818,651	332,953	3.40	97,264,000	513,829	5.28	201,488,077	885,374	4.39
Jackson	8	255,182,775	1,412,387	5.53	223,546,019	2,806,236	10.31	500,081,717	3,761,111	7.52
Van Buren	4	129,948,548	392,328	3.01	137,094,438	2,899,653	21.15	285,337,949	3,343,792	11.71
Harrison	}	116,736,004	429,981	3.68	109,187,401	1,133,242	10.37	244,590,156	1,565,903	6.40
Tyler		201,857,503	18,109	.08	205,194,700	1,712,169	8.34	423,913,687	1,732,851	4.03
Polk	4	211,908,612	276,270	1.30	194,370,493	1,485,192	7.64	432,861,676	1,814,409	4.19
Fillmore	}	282,179,829	213,001	.75	285,638,875	1,674,852	5.86	608,257,815	2,167,982	3.56
Pierce		312,359,679	194,003	.62	328,183,268	2,292,825	6.93	697,500,870	2,659,107	3.81
Buchanan	4	4,670,460,137	508,593	.70	4,667,457,921	6,599,022	1.41	9,586,637,144	7,200,984	.76
Lincoln	4	4,042,816,438	2,562,721	.63	3,891,576,259	1,889,641	.48	8,014,908,984	4,619,599	.57
Johnson	4	5,318,698,324	1,189,139	.22	5,287,604,645	1,138,541	.21	10,842,922,583	2,622,478	.24
Grant	8	1,728,979,907	None.	None.	1,557,034,964	1,383	.00	3,353,629,855	2,676	$\frac{8}{16}$ mill.
Hayes	2	18,024,115,418	8,994,375	.49	17,634,620,963	28,527,857	1.61	36,317,639,725	38,887,568	1.07
Prior to June 30, 1861	}	2,263,660,610	4,734,020	2.09	2,230,947,173	18,899,268	8.47	4,719,481,157	24,441,829	5.17
July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1879		15,760,454,807	4,260,355	.27	15,403,673,790	9,628,589	.62	31,598,158,567	14,445,739	.46

In the great work of the Internal-Revenue Bureau, the astonishing, unexampled spectacle was presented of more than one hundred millions of dollars being collected yearly for seven years, through an army of employés numbering more than five thousand, every dollar of which had been turned into the United States Treasury, not even one cent being lost to the Government.

In the national election in 1884 both parties recognized, in their platforms, civil-service reform. The Republican declaration was straightforward and explicit; that of the Democrats, evasive and meaningless. Here are the two:

[From the Republican platform.]

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

[From the Democratic platform.]

We favor honest civil-service reform.

But as the canvass progressed it was seen that a considerable number of men, who had previously affiliated with the Republican party, were bent upon opposing its candidate, and it gradually became apparent that these men were not only opposing Mr. Blaine and urging their friends to oppose him but looking about for reasons that would justify them in supporting his opponent, Mr. Cleveland.

The Democratic candidate was not slow to recognize this, and in his letter of acceptance, dated August 18, 1884, he takes occasion to express his belief that the misuse of patronage in the selection of officials who make it their business to interfere improperly in elections should be prevented, even at the expense of an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President for re-election. I quote from the letter:

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public places once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of office-holders with a zeal born of benefit received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

Warming to his subject, Governor Cleveland, a little further on in the same letter, announced his views as follows:

The people pay the wages of the public employés, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of these affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it. The unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease, and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

These utterances are clear and distinct, and may be presumed to have had their effect. The seceders from the Republican party voted the Democratic ticket, and in the close States their numbers were sufficient to decide the result, and Governor Cleveland was elected President. If anybody doubts the moving consideration which impelled

this seceding vote in the direction of the Democratic candidate, he has only to read the declarations of the leaders in the civil-service-reform movement made many times since the election.

I am now approaching, Mr. President, the consideration of the course of President Cleveland's administration, elected upon the statements and pledges which I have just quoted. These statements and pledges, in connection with subsequent utterances made by the President, are the foundation for the declaration of Mr. George William Curtis in his address to the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, held at Newport August 3, 1886, that "President Cleveland is identified in the public mind with the cause of reform."

Subsequent to the election, and previous to his inauguration, on December 25, 1884, Mr. Cleveland, in a letter to Hon. George William Curtis, among other things, enunciates the following propositions as covering his views:

I am not unmindful of the fact to which you refer, that many of our citizens fear that the recent party change in the national Executive may demonstrate that the abuses which have grown up in the civil service are ineradicable. I know that they are deeply rooted and that the spoils system has been supposed to be intimately related to success in the maintenance of party organization, and I am not sure that all those who profess to be the friends of this reform will stand firmly among its advocates when they find it obstructing their way to patronage and place. But fully appreciating the trust committed to my charge, no such consideration shall cause a relaxation on my part of an earnest effort to enforce this law.

If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it entirely proper to remind them that, though the coming administration is to be Democratic, a due regard for the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office; and to say to them that while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office, not embraced within the civil-service rules, will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness, instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than upon persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations on behalf of candidates for appointment.

In his inaugural address delivered March 4, 1885, the President makes the following declarations of his views as to reform:

The people demand reform in the administration of the Government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil-service reform should be in good faith indorsed. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employes who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

Searching through the President's first annual message to Congress, delivered December 8, 1885, one finds, just before its conclusion, the following reform sentences:

I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in the minds of the people of our country than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based.

Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuation of this system, which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of the Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

The allurements of an immense number of offices and places exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for

the nation's welfare would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a change.

Previous to this, on September 11, 1885, in his letter accepting the resignation of Mr. Eaton, the Civil Service Commissioner, the President took occasion to say:

I believe in civil-service reform and its application in the most practicable form attainable, among other reasons because it opens the door for the rich and the poor alike to a participation in public place-holding.

You will agree with me, I think, that the support which has been given to the present Administration in its efforts to preserve and advance this reform by a party restored to power after an exclusion for many years from participation in the places attached to the public service, confronted with a new system precluding the redistribution of such places in its interest, called upon to surrender advantages which a perverted partisanship had taught the American people belonged to success, and perturbed with the suspicion, always raised in such an emergency, that their rights in the conduct of this reform had not been scrupulously regarded, should receive due acknowledgment, and should confirm our belief that there is a sentiment among the people better than a desire to hold office, and a patriotic impulse upon which may safely rest the integrity of our institutions and the strength and perpetuity of our Government.

In a personal interview published in the Boston Herald January 30, 1885, the President makes the following epigrammatic utterances: "No, I have tried to be true to my own pledges and the pledges of my party. We both promised to divorce the offices of the country from being used for party service. I have held to my promise, and I mean to hold to it." Also the following: "What I understand by civil-service reform, as I am carrying it out, is that the office-holders shall be divorced from politics while they fill their positions under this Government. That rule I have meant to stand by."

Here, Mr. President, we have an administration pledged as strongly as words can pledge it to the cause of civil-service reform. It was an administration elected, as Mr. Curtis has said, because of such pledges and the faith that was based upon them. To the vision of the reformer a brighter and better day was dawning in American politics. Appointments to office were to be made on the Jeffersonian plan of fitness and character. There were to be no more sweeping removals. Nobody was to behold the spectacle of a horde of hungry office-seekers besieging the capital upon a change of administration. The affairs of the Government were to be conducted upon business principles. The office-holders were to be "the servants of the people and not their masters." They were to be "divorced from politics." They were not to seek to control conventions and elections. We were to have a "pure, non-partisan civil service."

Let us now see, Mr. President, how these high-sounding pledges have been kept. Mr. Curtis declares that they attracted a sufficient number of independent voters to the standard of the Democratic party to elect its President. If this be so it is worth the while to bring to the minds of these "independent" men and to the attention of the country the real condition of affairs since the Democratic party, after gaining possession of the Government through the pledges of its candidate, came into full power.

Before going to this, Mr. President, I wish it distinctly understood that in any arraignment which I may make of the present Administra-

tion touching its appointments and the participation of civil officers of the Government under it in politics I am uttering no complaint in the interests of Republicans who have been removed from Federal offices. These men have made no complaint, and will make none. In common with other Senators upon this side of the Chamber, I have made no attempt to retain them in office. Indeed, Mr. President, notwithstanding the platform of the Democratic party and the declarations and pledges of its candidate, I have never expected much less than a clean sweep at the hands of the Democratic party; for if there is anything that the leaders of that party and its masses believe in and mean to maintain it is the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils;" and, Mr. President, it was not only that Mr. Cleveland was elected President in November, 1884; but what was of much more importance to the country, the Democratic party, which Mr. Curtis declared was both "hungry and thirsty for office," was set up in power.

The man is blind who does not see to-day that the spirit of that party upon the question of the distribution of the "spoils" is as powerful, as controlling, as dominant as it ever was in the days of Polk or Pierce or Buchanan. This is what, as we have all seen, has brought the President and party leaders together. This is what has made Senators who two years ago denounced and derided the President because of his "impracticable civil-service reform theories" his advocates and apostles to-day. It is not that they have yielded, but that he has yielded.

Whatever may have been the President's intention in the beginning, however honestly he may have intended to carry out his many declarations for reform, the pressure from his party has been too great; the spoilsmen have captured the Administration, and now their talk is of nothing but the renomination and re-election of the President.

If the fond dream ever possessed the mind of the civil-service reformer that under President Cleveland the Democratic party was to be transformed into a civil-service-reform party, that reformer has seen the baseless fabric of his dream vanish in a rude awakening.

I invite the attention of these gentlemen to the following table, which was carefully made up to June 11, 1887, more than six months ago, from figures furnished by the Department, as showing how sweeping had been the change in all of the departments of the Government up to that date:

Offices.	Places filled by Cleveland.	Whole number of places.
Presidential postmasters (estimated).....	2,000	2,359
Fourth-class postmasters (estimated).....	40,000	52,609
Foreign ministers	32	33
Secretaries of legation.....	16	21
Consuls.	138	219
Collectors of customs.....	100	111
Surveyors of customs	33	33
Naval officers of customs	6	6
Appraisers, all grades.....	34	36
Superintendents of mints and assayers.....	11	13
Assistant treasurers at subtreasuries.	9	9
Collectors of internal revenue.....	84	85
Inspectors of steam-vessels.....	8	11
District attorneys.....	65	70
Marshals.	64	70
Territorial judges.....	22	30
Territorial governors.....	9	9

Offices.	Places filled by Cleve- land.	Whole number of places.
Pension agents.....	16	18
Surveyors-general.....	16	16
Local land officers.....	190	224
Indian inspectors and special agents.....	9	10
Indian agents.....	51	59
Special agents, General Land Office.....	79	83
Total.....	42, 992	56, 134

Mr. SAULSBURY. Allow me to ask whether those changes were all removals?

Mr. HALE. The Senator will take notice that I am speaking of changes. I am coming afterwards to speak of the method of the changes.

At the time to which this table comes the present Administration had been a little more than two years in power.

The best comment, Mr. President, upon this remarkable table that I can make is to quote the editorial headings of a leading Democratic newspaper, when it exultingly published this sweeping list. Here they are: "The civil service;" "Practical exclusion of Republicans from employment under the National Government;" "Only a small class of public servants protected by the Pendleton act;" The changes effected with as little derangement of business as possible;" "Spoils-men not satisfied."

Not "satisfied," Mr. President, till they should have secured possession of the small fraction of offices remaining in Republican hands in June last. Since that time a large portion of the places represented by this small fraction have been filled by Democrats, and I hope in a few days to have the figures which will show how almost complete and exhaustive have been the changes.

This showing, Mr. President, is most amazing. I was not aware of the extent of the change till I looked up the figures; the country has not known or appreciated it. Certain incidents connected with these changes are startling. It can not be said in defense of the President and his party that in most cases the changes were made because of the expiration of the terms of the incumbents or of their resignations. In a very great majority of all these cases, probably nineteen-twentieths of all, the civil officers removed held under no fixed tenure of office, being removable at the pleasure of the President. So far as resignations go, they have been comparatively few, and, in nine cases out of ten, have been extorted under the threat of removal.

In the great bureau of the internal revenue, out of eighty-five collectors eighty-four had been removed on June 11, and the other, I believe, has gone since. Not one of these held under a fixed term of office which had expired. The same is true of that large number of officials who are employed in the Indian service as inspectors, in the Land Office, in the Pension Office, in the mints, and in the judiciary of the Territories.

It is true of that great army of small officials who are known as fourth-class postmasters; and this class and its treatment deserve some special comment. This class includes the postmasters in the smaller towns and villages and cross-roads throughout all the States and Territories. They represent, more than any other class, the men whose official du-

ties bring them into direct relation and communication with the people. They are, in most cases, poorly paid, and do their own work. Scarcely one of these places can be called a sinecure, and yet such has been the greed of the local Democratic politician for some kind of office that, out of fifty-two thousand six hundred and nine places in this class, forty thousand, as near as the estimate can be made, or as the Postmaster-General, in his report, makes it between thirty-six and thirty-seven thousand, had been removed up to the early part of last June. I do not believe to-day, Mr. President, that ten thousand of the old incumbents in this class remain in office. What is more to the point, I do not believe that out of those that are left three thousand are Republicans, or that, from all those that have been newly appointed, one hundred are Republicans. The Nasbys and the Bascoms and the Gavits of the Democratic party have been put into these places by this civil-service-reform administration.

No man can say, out of this vast mass of patronage, how many local Democratic strikers, who have come to Washington seeking high places in the Government and have gradually beheld their hopes fading, have seen their application strained down from one grade to another till at last they have rested content as a fourth-class Democratic reform postmaster in a grocery in some country corner.

I commend this list to the special attention of the gentlemen of the civil-service-reform associations who still cling to the fond hope that Mr. Cleveland is a reform President. Not one of these removals could have taken place if he had forbidden it. Indeed, between the adjournment of Congress and his departure for the Adirondack Mountains the President appointed two hundred and fifty three postmasters, of whom but one was appointed to succeed himself and ninety-one were appointed to succeed postmasters who were removed.

The difference between word and deed is clearly shown in the case of Secretary Lamar, who took occasion in April last to commend John C. Calhoun for his opposition to the spoils system, and to congratulate himself upon belonging to an Administration that was engaged in carrying out the policy that Calhoun advocated.

The stern facts are that in the service over which Mr. Lamar has presided every Territorial governor has been removed; sixteen out of eighteen pension agents; every single surveyor-general; four-fifths of the local land officers; nine-tenths of the inspectors and special agents of the Indian service; fifty-one out of fifty-nine Indian agents; seventy-nine out of eighty-three special agents of the General Land Office, and more than two-thirds of the special examiners of the Pension Office. But Secretary Lamar to-day stands on record as against the spoils system, and takes high rank as a reformer.

If I were not consuming too much time, Mr. President, I could select from the figures which are before me other Departments of the Government, not covered by the table which I have presented, showing this conquering march of the Democratic party in pursuit of the offices.

In all the Departments in Washington are found able and honest men, who have given their lives to the service of the Government. They have begun as clerks in the lower grades and have been steadily promoted until they have at last reached the highest places to which they may reasonably aspire. They were found, when the reform Democratic administration came into power, as chief clerks and chiefs of divisions. They made the eyes and ears of the Departments, and, one would suppose, should be considered as almost indispensable. In the Treasury Department there are seventy-nine chief clerks and chiefs of

divisions, and up to June, 1887, sixty-six of these seventy-nine had been changed. In not more than a half a dozen cases the person appointed was a promoted clerk. The introduction into this force was almost entirely from the outside. Every deputy auditor, deputy comptroller, and deputy commissioner of internal revenue has been changed. In many cases chiefs of divisions have been reduced in grade, and new men, from the outside world, of the Democratic party, have been appointed. In more than one case the head of a division has been reduced to a lower clerkship and the Democratic politician has been appointed in his place, and the old incumbent, in his reduced grade and at his reduced pay, is performing all his old work, and the new incumbent does practically nothing. But this is civil-service reform.

Mr. President, there is but one thing about this showing that can be offensive to my friends on the other side of the Chamber whose constituents are following them in frantic pursuit for the offices. There are still here and there a few places worth the holding remaining in the hands of Republicans who, instead of "fixing conventions" and mustering the voters at the polls, are attending to the duties of their office; but these cases I must remind my friends are few and all the while becoming less and less.

My friend from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] has seen to it that out of thirty-nine Presidential post-offices in his State but one holds over. I am not sure that he, perhaps the "late postmaster" at Somerset, has not gone.

My brilliant friend from Missouri [Mr. VEST], in association with his indefatigable colleague [Mr. COCKRELL], has looked to it that out of seventy-nine Presidential post-offices in his State seventy-five were changed. Either of these Senators can tell better than I whether since October 28, to which time my figures come down, either of the other four has been allowed to stay.

The Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], who marshals his party in the national elections, has been a little more forbearing in his treatment of the post-offices, for, in late October, I find that four of these places remained unchanged. Possibly this may have been in view of the coming election; since when reform may have exhausted itself by completing the sweep. But he has looked more carefully after the Federal offices under the Secretary of the Treasury, as every Presidential appointment, from collectors of the port down to local appraisers, has been changed with the exception of the collector of customs at Annapolis.

My friend from North Carolina [Mr. RANSOM], who will have all the Presidential postmasters in his State, as I hope, in his Senatorial race next year, has quietly proceeded to have every one of them changed, at which none of us, of late, have heard any grumblings from his colleague [Mr. VANCE] as to the impracticable theories of the Administration.

South Carolina, out of eighteen Presidential post-offices, had in October but one holding over, and all of the customs and internal-revenue officers in that State are new.

Louisiana has twelve Presidential post-offices, all being new appointees.

Indiana, under the charge of the eloquent Democratic Senator from that State [Mr. VOORHEES], has not been forgotten, and out of eighty-seven Presidential post-offices only those at Crown Point, Goshen, and Union City remained in October unchanged.

The Florida Senators must be surprised to learn that one Republican postmaster was left at Eustis, out of seventeen Presidential post-offices. I commend this accidental escape to their immediate attention.

How it has happened that in Delaware, with but six Presidential post-offices, a Republican postmaster still holds at Newark is an anomalous condition yet to be explained.

In the Northern States, where there are no Democratic Senators and but few Representatives in the other branch of Congress, somebody has been equally effective in the cause of reform.

Colorado, has twenty-eight Presidential post-offices, only two of which remained unchanged in October.

Iowa has one hundred and twenty-four Presidential post-offices, and of these seven remained unchanged.

Kansas has one hundred and ten Presidential post-offices, and out of these the postmasters at Augusta, Cawker City, Frankfort, Hays City, Humboldt, and Lindsborg have escaped the ax.

In my own State, out of thirty Presidential post-offices, five remained unchanged at the date already given.

In Massachusetts the Democratic party has maintained an indifferent, and indeed sullen, attitude toward the Administration, because of the fact that out of one hundred and twenty-six Presidential post-offices twenty-three, up to the date of the last election, remained in the hands of Republicans.

In Michigan, out of one hundred and six Presidential post-offices, fourteen remain.

In Minnesota, out of fifty-one six, remain.

In Nebraska, out of seventy, six remain.

In New Hampshire two Republicans, out of thirty-two Presidential post-offices, remain as spared monuments of mercy.

In New York, out of two hundred and nineteen Presidential post-offices, forty-seven remain in Republican hands, or did previous to the last election.

This is not so bad a showing, after all, in the cause of reform, and for the further satisfaction of my friends upon the other side of the Chamber, and for the encouragement of the average Democratic politician in the country, I am glad to be able to say that the Administration has lost no vigor in this work of removal. Indeed, wherever an examination has been made, showing the rate of changes from month to month, it has been discovered that although the number of removals to be made is less the percentage of change is constantly increasing.

The Civil Service Record, of Boston, a good authority upon this subject, not long ago investigated the unclassified service in the Interior Department, and reports the rapidity with which the changes have been made, as follows: "On October 1, 1886, the percentage of changes was 71; on January 1, 1887, the percentage was 78½; on July 1, 1887, the percentage was 90."

At this rate it can be easily seen that the remaining small percentage will soon be removed. The cry of "Kill, kill," as in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, grows louder as the number of victims increases.

Mr. GRAY. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. GRAY. I ask whether in the statement as to Presidential post-offices the Senator allows for the number of new appointees by reason of the expiration of term? I know that in my own State, where there are but a small number of Presidential post-offices, every one of the changes was made to fill a vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of office.

Mr. HALE. There are tables which show that. Every Senator can

see for himself, as to Presidential post-offices running for four years of time as their term of office, that in two years of an administration, upon the doctrine of averages, the term of one-half might expire. I have been giving the record in these States where, instead of one-half of the number of postmasters being changed, the proportion ranges from five-sixths to nineteen-twentieths, or to a complete change, so that whatever may be the fact in Delaware—and that I did not comment on—the Senator himself must see that removals accelerate these changes beyond what would naturally occur on the doctrine of averages.

Mr. GRAY. I do not understand that the Senator insists that the President has done wrong in filling post-offices which became vacant by the expiration of term of the incumbent.

Mr. HALE. I have said before that I did not claim that all of these changes had been by removals; but a significant fact attending the pledges and promises of this civil-service-reform Administration is that as the terms have expired not one in five hundred of the old incumbents has been reappointed. It goes without saying, and nobody raises a question, that their successors will always be Democrats, notwithstanding the President has said that he will not encourage a horde of office-seekers to besiege the Departments of the Government and his door for rewards for partisan work.

I have just given the instance, which the Senator did not hear, that in the little space of time between the adjournment of Congress and the Presidential visit to the Adirondack Mountains, out of two hundred and fifty-three Presidential appointments that were made ninety-one were to fill offices vacated by removals, and only one of a man to succeed himself.

Mr. GRAY. What officers were they?

Mr. HALE. Postmasters.

Let us now, Mr. President, turn to the other side of this subject of reform in the civil service, that which relates to the offensive participation of office-holders in politics. That this should not be permitted in any well-regulated civil service goes without saying. The President saw this clearly, and his utterances in relation to it are as clear and distinct as they were upon appointments and removals.

I have already quoted from his letter of acceptance, in which he deprecated the existence of "a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefit received, and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, who stand ready to aid with money and trained political services" the party to which they belong. And we have seen further his declarations, after assuming his high office, of the things which he believed to constitute a true civil-service reform, namely:

The separation of the offices from politics, the non-participation of office-holders in elections and conventions.

During the first year of the President's administration, and as the time approached for the campaign which preceded the State and Congressional elections in 1886, it was discovered that things were going on in the Democratic party very much after its old fashion. The men in office were "manipulating conventions," "fixing nominations," and taking upon themselves the conduct of the campaign generally. So apparent was this in Maryland, in Indiana, in Kentucky, in New York, in Pennsylvania, and in other contested States, that a voice of complaint was heard, not from the Democrats, who desired this condition of things, nor from the Republicans, who expected it, but from the "Independents," who had contributed to the President's election, and who now were fain to admit that matters were not going to suit them.

The President was ready, as usual, with letters of assurances and with proclamations tending to appease the discontent of his "Independent" allies.

The statute which I have recited in the resolution upon which I am speaking is definitive and explicit in its terms, and its passage by a Republican Congress and approval by a Republican President, as I have said, was followed by a complete change in the organization of the party, all men holding Federal office disappearing from its committees and staff of political workers.

On the 14th day of July, 1886, the President issued his famous order from the Executive Mansion in Washington, "To the heads of the Departments in the service of the General Government." As this whole proclamation has been read from the desk of the Secretary, I will not here take up the time of the Senate by repeating it. In it the President declares that his purpose is "to warn all subordinates in the several Departments and all office-holders under the General Government, against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities." In it he declares that "office-holders are the agents of the people—not their masters." In it he warns Federal officials against "offending, by a display of obtrusive partisanship, their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials." In it he declares that "they have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates." In it he declares that the duty of the office-holder to his party is not "increased to pernicious activity by office-holding."

These plain declarations of the President form a policy under which, if properly followed, the civil service of the country would indeed be divorced from politics. The Independents felt this and, taking new courage from the President's declarations, and forgetting how far the performance had fallen short of his promises in appointments and removals, still clung, in many cases, to the Democratic organization.

The Civil Service Commissioners, or at least two of them, interpreted the statute in accordance with the President's instruction, and this added weight to the Executive direction. But the leaders and the masses of the Democratic party felt by this time that they clearly understood the situation, and at this point begins to be clearly marked the change of tone among these leaders in their comments upon the President. They realized fully that in view of coming elections the party must ride two horses; that the President was to steadily maintain in all his public declarations the cause of civil-service reform, with the view of retaining the support of the Independents; but that, as in the case of appointments and removals, no real obstruction was to be placed in the way of any and every office-holder participating, whenever he chose, in caucuses and conventions and in the elections which followed.

Whether the advantages to be derived from this double presentation first became clearly discernible to the President's eye or to the eyes of his party leaders is not a matter of importance. The beauties of the situation, to a party which had straddled and presented two fronts upon almost every great question before the people, were at once apparent, and the President and his party, while speaking in different voices, were at once reconciled and came to bed together.

The conventions in the different States and in the Congressional districts at once fell under the old management, and were conducted as in the palmy days of Democracy, previous to the war.

In the Indiana election, in November, 1886, the participation of Federal office-holders in the primaries and subsequently in the election raised a scandal of which papers in that State, at the time and afterwards, were full. In the closely-contested districts these men left their business and their homes and devoted themselves to securing the nomination and election of the members to whom they had owed their appointments. In the Matson district, in the Holman district, and especially in the Fort Wayne district the intrusion of Federal office-holders into every stage of the canvass previous to the nominating conventions and elections was so offensive that honest people revolted and defeated the Democratic candidate. Whoever will read the testimony offered in the Lowry-White contested-election case will find ample proof of this statement.

When 1887 came round the President's declarations and proclamations were treated as waste-paper, and the President himself seems by this time to have fallen into such harmony with the spirit of his party that he not only acquiesced in this wholesale disregard of his previously expressed sentiments and directions, but himself joined in the movement. His most intimate friends, both in and out of office, took charge of the conduct of conventions and elections in the year which was considered as having so close a bearing in its results upon the great coming battle of 1888.

At the Saratoga meeting of the Democratic State committee of New York, when the preliminaries of what then looked like the dawning contest between the national Administration and the State administration were to be settled, Deputy Collector John A. Mason and Second Auditor William F. Creed, of the New York custom-house, were most prominent and active.

At the Pennsylvania State convention more than forty of the Federal officials of that State appeared to marshal the forces of the administration. The names of some of these have been furnished me as taken from a Democratic newspaper: E. J. Bigler, collector of internal revenue; D. O. Barr, surveyor of the port of Pittsburgh; McVey and Ryan, special Treasury agents; Fletcher, chief clerk in a bureau of the Navy Department; Glozier, hull inspector; Guss, oleomargarine inspector; Chester and Warren and Bancroft, from the Philadelphia mint, and many others. In Baltimore the naval officer, the appointment clerk, Higgins, and Indian Inspector Thomas, Customs Agent Mahon, Postmaster Brown and his assistant, United States marshal and deputies, deputy collector of internal revenue, and a host of clerks, inspectors, and janitors monopolized the direction of the entire campaign.

I might go on and give like instances in other States, but I leave that to be more fully brought out by the committee which I hope will take this matter in charge.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I make an inquiry?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. HAWLEY. Is the Senator certain that these men have not been indignantly and virtuously removed?

Mr. HALE. Not only have I yet to learn of a removal for such action, but I have yet to learn of any censure being visited upon one of these men. I do not know of a case where the President has put his strong hand upon these men and made it seen that he meant to perform what he had promised. In fact, so gross was the violation of every principle of reform and of the President's directions and pledges that even the Evening Post declared that "this playing fast and loose with orders and promises, which the President is now permitting among

those around him, will be used in the campaign with terrible effect." But the President has not hesitated to deal deadly blows at reform with his own hand. A remarkable manifestation of the desire of the people for a practical reform in the selection of important officers was shown in the city of New York previous to the last election. Public suspicion had for a long time rested upon officials in the municipal government, and had at last demanded and secured an investigation, which disclosed the most corrupt and shocking practices on the part of municipal officials, implicating them and well-known parties outside in extensive schemes involving corruption and bribery.

Public indignation, expressed through almost the entire press of New York, was aroused, the intervention of the courts was sought, and from time to time trials of the accused had proceeded in some cases to conviction of the criminals. The work was by no means completed, and as the time for the election of a district attorney who should represent the State and the public in the conduct of these trials came near a pronounced and general movement grew up in favor of the selection of Mr. Delancy Nicoll, an able and brilliant young Democratic lawyer, who had found thrown upon him, as an assistant in the district attorney's office, the burden of largely managing and conducting the hitherto successful prosecution of these cases.

Nobody claimed that the movement for Mr. Nicoll had its origin in any party preference. It came from the people, and the demand was taken up by the newspapers. With few exceptions the Republican, Democratic, and independent press demanded the nomination and election of Mr. Nicoll in the interest of reform and good government. He was nominated by different independent organizations, indorsed by all of the civil-service-reform associations and newspapers, and, although a Democrat, accepted generally by the Republicans.

Here was a plain, spontaneous, earnest, honest movement on the part of the people in the direction of reform. It would seem to have been political wit on the part of the Democratic managers in New York City to have accepted this movement and to have joined in the election of a man who had always been a Democrat, but whose character and services were so high that good men demanded generally that he should be retained in the public service. But, as I have said, long before this the Democratic leaders had found that in the practical management of politics they were in the saddle, and the nominating conventions of the two branches of the New York Democracy joined in rejecting Mr. Nicoll and in setting up as his opponent an old-fashioned, worn, bruised, and battered New York City politician, whose personal character was not high, and who had been a crony of and a beneficiary at the hands of Tweed in the worst days of New York City's corruptions.

The business men of New York, the Independents, the Reformers, and Republicans generally accepted the issue, and a contest almost unequaled in intensity and bitterness ensued. Here, Senators, was the opportunity for the President not only to say but to do something for reform. If, in accordance with his declarations in favor of non-interference of Federal office-holders in elections, he had, including himself as the head of all Federal official life, determined to keep aloof from the contest, he still might in many ways have breathed expressions giving aid and comfort to the men in New York City who were fighting against thieves and robbers and bribe-takers and bribe-givers in the interest of good government. All of the so-called reform element in New York City that had hitherto adhered to the President looked to him for some such expression. How bitterly were they disappointed! The Pres-

ident was now completely in the hands of the party leaders in New York, whose stern rule had always been to support regular nominations and to shoot down bolters and deserters.

While the contest was at its thickest, and men everywhere throughout the country turned their eyes expectantly upon the result, and when the battle had become one of national importance, and when the issues were, seemingly, well nigh evenly balanced, a great Tammany Hall ratification meeting was held in the interest of Mr. Fellows, the Tammany Hall and County Democratic candidate for district attorney in opposition to Mr. Nicoll. I have before me a full report of the proceedings of this meeting and of the parties who participated therein. Their names have not been found upon the lists of any civil-service-reform association heretofore made known to the public. General John Cochrane called the meeting to order. Congressman S. S. Cox presided. State Senator Raines, of Monroe, was followed by the candidate, Colonel Fellows, and Hon. Charles A. Dana, editor of *The Sun*. Speeches were also made by George Blair and Congressman WILLIAM MCADOO, of New Jersey. The following letter was read:

It will be impossible for me to comply with your courteous invitation to meet with those who propose to ratify to-morrow evening the nomination of the united Democracy. With a hearty wish that every candidate on your excellent ticket may be triumphantly elected,

I am, yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. VEST. I beg the Senator's pardon.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. HALE. I wish he would let me finish.

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. However, I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I did not propose to say a word, but the Senator has attacked a gentleman with whom my personal and political relations are such that I should esteem myself a dastard if I did not say what I propose to say now.

The Senator has spoken of Col. John R. Fellows as an old New York politician with a character none too high, to quote his own language, and he has not intimated, but has charged, in so many words, that his candidacy was in the interest of corrupt men and corrupt objects in the city of New York.

Now, Mr. President, I want to ask that Senator—for this surpasses the bounds of political debate and enters upon that of personal character—I want to ask him here, publicly, if Mr. Nicoll, the opponent of Colonel Fellows, whom he has eulogized here to-day as the representative of reform and honesty, did not in the heat of that contest address a letter to Colonel Fellows, and authorize its publication in all the newspapers of New York City, in which he stated that he had been associated with Colonel Fellows in the prosecution of Sharp and the other men who were alleged to be criminals, and that as a gentleman he took that occasion to say publicly that no man at the New York bar stood higher than Col. John R. Fellows, and that he took that occasion to testify that in those prosecutions Colonel Fellows had done all that could be done by any man of the same ability? Yet, in the face of that letter, Colonel Fellows is denounced here to-day as a participant in the criminal intents of those men, some of whom are fugitives from justice, and others are in the State penitentiary.

Mr. HALE. I have no knowledge personally of either of the candidates in that most important contest.

Mr. VEST. I ask if that letter was not published? If not, I will have it read in the Senate.

Mr. HALE. I have no doubt whatever about the letter; there were many incidents in that campaign upon one side and the other. One thing came out clearly, and that was that whatever personal attachment might have been felt for the Tammany and County Democracy candidate on the part of friends who had known him in late years and in earlier years, he had been connected by close personal ties and had been the beneficiary of contributions at the hands of Tweed in the time which I have before characterized as the worst of New York's corrupt days; that he was old in political service; that, as I have said, his character stood none too high. I repeat that the impression which I received from reading the papers upon both sides at that time justified me in that remark, without intending any assault upon Colonel Fellows. But I do not propose to leave it there. If the Senator had not interrupted me I was going on further to give testimony from parties in New York about the effect of the indorsement by the President of this man upon men who were honestly fighting for good government. Let me continue the reading where I was interrupted. I have read the letter of Grover Cleveland.

The report of the meeting further says that Governor Hill wrote that a previous engagement prevented his attendance, and said a good word for the Democratic State and local tickets, and that William M. Springer, of Illinois, telegraphed to Colonel Fellows that he hoped that he would be elected, as did also Senator GORMAN, of Maryland.

The "Reformers," Mr. President, were out in great force that night. The extent of the President's contribution in money to the election of the New York ticket I am not aware of. It has been stated to have been in the form of a check for \$1,000, and I have never seen the statement denied.

Of this attitude of the President Mr. Carl Schurz said, only a few days later:

What malignant enemy of President Cleveland was it that induced Mr. Cooper to extort from him that most unfortunate letter intermeddling in New York City politics on the side of the typical "dead-beat"—

I was careful to use no such language as this—
as a candidate for an office which is the guardian of the public honor?

I leave the Senator from Missouri to deal with Mr. Carl Schurz in the selection he has made of the terms that he applies to the candidate whom the reformers were striving to beat. I do not select a vocabulary of such words as these, because I know nothing whatever about Colonel Fellows. The Senator must settle with Mr. Schurz, who has lived for years in New York, who has been in sympathy with him and his party, and who to-day, for aught I know, still represents the feeling of adherence to President Cleveland as a reformer.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. The Senator has certainly seen, whether a professional lawyer or not, that when one puts a witness upon the stand he must indorse his general character for truth and veracity, in a political sense certainly. Now he brings forward Mr. Schurz as a witness in this case. If what Mr. Schurz says about Colonel Fellows is entitled to any credibility, to any weight whatever, what weight is to be given to what he

has said of the party to which the Senator belongs and all of its leaders?

I am not responsible for what Mr. Schurz has said. The State of Missouri, of which he and myself were once citizens at the same time, has passed upon Mr. Schurz politically, and I was never his friend in any sense of the term. When the Senator from Maine produces Mr. Schurz here as a witness he must take all his declarations; and he has never said one-half as much against Colonel Fellows as he has said against all the distinguished leaders of the Republican party.

Mr. HALE. I am not here espousing or defending the record of Mr. Carl Schurz.

Mr. VEST. Then the Senator ought not to put him on the stand as a witness.

Mr. HALE. Wait a moment; as a lawyer I have gone into the other side, into their camp, and from their array of witnesses I have put him upon the stand; and the Senator, who is a good lawyer, knows that no court ever holds that a party calling up a witness under such circumstances and conditions is responsible for the record of that witness who is extracted from the array that the other side has set up. That is how I am quoting Mr. Carl Schurz.

Mr. VEST. Is not Mr. Carl Schurz a Republican?

Mr. HALE. I have seen nothing to indicate it for a number of years.

Mr. VEST. I positively and distinctly affirm that he is not a Democrat.

Mr. HALE. Well, Mr. President, if acting in association with the Democratic party, writing and talking in favor of its candidate, if voting for it on election day, and advocating all its cardinal propositions and doctrines do not make a man a Democrat, then the Senator from Missouri must furnish a list of qualifications which we will all declare at once entitle a man to full fellowship in that party. The Senator has had a good deal of Mr. Carl Schurz in the last few years, and is very likely to have still more of him, notwithstanding his repudiation of him now. At any rate, Mr. Schurz was entitled to speak upon this canvass, and upon the issue, and upon the candidates. Now let me read what he says:

What malignant enemy of President Cleveland was it that induced Mr. Cooper—

He referred to Mayor Cooper; the old mayor—

to extort from him that most unfortunate letter intermeddling in New York city politics on the side of the typical "dead-beat" as a candidate for an office which is the guardian of the public honor? If the President had had a true friend in your councils that friend would have strained every nerve to confirm his disinclination to descend from the high dignity of his office; that friend would not have failed to remind him of 1882, when the meddling of the national administration with New York State politics resulted in the most sweeping opposition victory on record; that friend would have struggled to the bitter end against the publication of the President's letter after the new revelations concerning Mr. Fellows's career, in ignorance of which, I have no doubt, that letter was written, and after learning which I trust he would wish it never had been written.

I shall say nothing in extenuation of the fact that the President permitted himself to be so misused. But certain it is that the bitterest enemies of the President and of the Democratic party could not have dealt them a more vicious blow. For more than thirty years I have been an attentive observer of political events, and never, never have I witnessed more wanton recklessness of party leaders, sacrificing the interests and good name of a great municipality, the character of a national administration, as well as the interests of their party and cause, to their blundering folly or their small selfishness.

To set at rest in Mr. Schurz's mind the question which he raises as to the President's interference being deliberate and determined, I

read the following letter, which likewise appeared and was used in this remarkable campaign:

NEW YORK, November 4.

Ex-Mayor Edward Cooper has received the following letter from President Cleveland:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, November 2, 1887.

"MY DEAR SIR: I do not think the newspaper clippings you send and now before me amount to enough to even raise a doubt concerning my desire for the success of both the State and the New York local tickets in the coming election. You know that I am very much inclined to abstain from any interference with New York City campaigns, fully believing the people of that city to be quite competent to manage their affairs. It surely ought not to be considered any interference, however, when I say in reply to your letter that the newspaper extracts which you inclose totally misrepresent my wishes and hopes in regard to the fate of your Democratic local ticket. I shall be very much pleased to see it entirely successful. I know nothing which, if I were a voter in New York, would prevent my support of Mr. Fellows's candidacy without the least misgivings as to his fitness and with considerable personal satisfaction. Please present my congratulations to Mr. Hewitt upon his excellent letter published this morning.

"Yours, very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"Hon. EDWARD COOPER."

In Massachusetts, where removals from office, though numerous and covering nearly all the important appointments, were not so sweeping as in other States, dissatisfaction existed in the Democratic party, which plainly manifested itself in the State convention. The President's appointments were criticised, the retention of a few Republicans in office was denounced, the platform was made to suit the spoilsmen, and instead of renominating Mr. Andrew, who had to some extent represented the reformers, in heading the Democratic ticket last year ex-Congressman Lovering was set up in his place, and the convention adjourned with a howl against reform and with the avowed purpose of getting along without and snubbing the reformers. So plain was the purpose and the bias of the Democratic party in the State that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the so-called independents who had voted the Democratic ticket in the last Presidential election determined to withhold their votes from Mr. Lovering, and in the end many of those votes were cast for Governor Ames, his competitor.

The President did not fail here to add to the discomfiture of his independent allies. When Collector Saltonstall, who visited Washington a few days previous to the elections, where he had several interviews with the President, returned to Boston, he declared in an interview, which gave great hopes to the Democratic politicians of Massachusetts, that he had in his interviews with the President found him "to be a very close observer of events and thoroughly informed concerning the issues of the campaign in the State." He said that "the President spoke in terms of praise of Mr. Lovering whom he considered a perfectly honest man, who would make a good governor, and he hoped to see elected;" and he declared that—

Notwithstanding the attack in the Worcester convention upon the Federal management of offices in Massachusetts, he had no doubt that the Massachusetts Democracy were in full accord with himself and his administration, and he hoped this might be proven by a majority the next Tuesday in favor of Mr. Lovering.

It is to the credit of the Massachusetts independent that this indorsement by the President of candidate Lovering availed little; but nothing could have more plainly shown the entire abandonment on the part of the President of the positions he had previously taken in favor of divorcing the civil service of the Government from politics.

Mr. President, I decline to go further in this direction. No observations of mine are needed upon such a showing. Peter Bayne, in his new *Life of Martin Luther*, after describing the slaughter and destruction of the peasants' army at the hands of the armed horsemen who rode in upon them, says that "upon some things all comment is drowned in tears." If it were not for the sadder consideration of broken promises and pledges that had come to naught, though made from the highest place in the land, all comment upon the record which I have tried fairly, though succeeding but inadequately, to give would be drowned in derision.

There is nobody, Mr. President, who is pleased with this situation. There is nobody that enjoys such an exposure. The Senator from Missouri, the Senator from Kentucky, the Senator from Maryland do not enjoy it, because at the bottom of their hearts they believe that the old-fashioned Democratic way, without the pretension of anything to the contrary, is the best way of conducting a government.

Mr. Schurz, and Mr. Curtis, and Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, and the select body of independents who are ranked with them in sentiment upon this subject do not enjoy this. Not one of these men who possesses ordinary discernment can fail to see that the whole course of this Administration on this subject has been a delusion and a sham. With them the searching question that each man must put to himself will now be, "How long shall I be constrained to minister to and uphold this delusion, this sham?"

The President himself, who, I am bound to believe, is not a born hypocrite, does not enjoy this condition. His only satisfaction must be that he is getting more clearly in line with his party and its leaders and the sentiments of its masses, and that in the time to come he will be called on to make no more professions.

Another subject closely connected with this question and specially provided for in the statute is that of assessments for political purposes imposed upon the officers, clerks, and employes of the Government. The whole course of the Republican party upon this was thoroughly gone over in the debate which arose here in the Forty-seventh Congress, in which the distinguished gentleman now our minister at the German court, then a prominent member of this body and the author of the Pendleton civil-service bill, took part.

In that debate the course of the Republican party was most fully justified, and it was shown clearly that whatever contributions had been made by officials, clerks, and employes of the Government toward maintaining the organization and conducting the campaigns of the party had been voluntary, and that no exactions had been laid and no threats or coercion resorted to to enforce contributions. The amount derived from all these sources in a single year was small compared with the entire expenses involved in a political campaign. But, Mr. President, a great hue and cry was raised throughout the country because of these voluntary contributions, and in the last years of the Republican administration they sank to almost nothing. The law was regarded and respected. The present Administration stood pledged to resist and destroy this evil equally with its pledges which I have adverted to in other directions.

I am consuming more time, Mr. President, than I ever intended in the present discussion of this subject, and my only comment upon the attitude of the Administration on this phase of the subject which I am discussing shall be to read the following:

[Washington Post, November 1, 1887.]

AMONG THE DEMOCRATS—MONEY FOR THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN.

A representative of the New York State Democratic committee opened headquarters for the receipt of contributions for the New York campaign in the rooms of the Columbia Democratic Club, at No. 419 Tenth street, yesterday. A large number of contributions were received, the first of which came from a young lady in the Government Printing Office signing herself "Sincerely a Democrat." The office will be opened to-day at 4 o'clock, and remain open during the evening.

The following communication, which I read, appeared in the Washington Republican of November 8, 1887. I have never seen any denial of the facts as therein given:

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

EDITOR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN: The following is a true copy of a receipt for money solicited from the employes of the Government Printing Office, with the understanding that the names of the parties contributing would be furnished the head of the office for favorable consideration:

NEW YORK, 10, 31, 1887.

Received from ——— fifty cents contribution to the New York Democratic State Committee.

\$0.50.

G. P. O.

EDWARD MURPHY, JR., *Chairman.*

Per C. V. H.

The Government Printing Office was thoroughly canvassed. The cashier of the office went to every person entitled to vote in New York, and made it apparent to them that they must go home and vote, and on their return furnish the name of the precinct in which they voted.

Never in the history of the office has there been such a complete system of obtaining money from both men and women for political purposes, and that in a manner that left no doubt in the minds of the employes that if the request was not complied with their places would be filled by others.

The argument used to obtain money was about as follows: "If Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, could contribute \$7,000, certainly a poor woman could pay 50 cents."

WASHINGTON, November 7.

From all this, Mr. President, something now ought to be plainly and clearly seen by every man who is not stone-blind. The political value to the Democratic party of the cry of "civil-service reform" has, in the minds of the leaders of that party, ceased to be worth estimating. In all matters pertaining to the organization and management of the party and its conduct in political campaigns no further attention will be paid to this. The primaries, the caucuses, the conventions, and the conduct of elections will all go on in the old-fashioned Democratic way. The penetrating and controlling influence of the Administration, upon the management of the party, both in Congress and in the broad battlefield before the American people, will be as marked, as dominant, as ever before. Wielding this influence, marking the paths of the party, shaping its course, breaking down opposition, enforcing discipline, deriding and defying protest will be found the immense mass of Federal office-holders throughout the entire land, as obedient to the orders of the Administration as the janizaries who do the bidding of an eastern despot. Some faint further note may possibly from time to time be heard in the form of a homily issued from the White House, descanting upon the merits of a civil-service reform, which the leaders of the Democratic party have never believed in, which faint note will be drowned in the partisan roar that is heard all along the line of that party.

This year, Mr. President, the land will rock in the furious conflict through which will be settled all the issues involved in the next Presidential election. I stand here now to declare my belief and to pre-

dict that, in the desperate effort which the Democratic party will make to retain possession of the Government, no means or appliances that have ever been used in the long years past by that party will be left unresorted to.

Intimidation, outrage, and murder will, if needed, again open a bloody grave, in which will be entombed anew the free ballot at the South. The vast army of office-holders will be marshaled in the conflict, and will be seen and heard, and felt everywhere. Nor will it stop here. Every piece of work performed by contract under the Government will be levied upon for political contribution, and every man who performs labor, under these contracts, will be sternly called upon to add his ballot to the labor he performs as an offset to the wages he receives. No public building will be raised in the country whose work-shop will not be found the recruiting ground for the Democratic party. No war-ship will be built from whose yard will not issue, upon election day, its stream of Democratic voters.

I have, Mr. President, already seen this illustrated in my own State. In the post-office building which is now being built at Augusta, the capital of Maine, when the foundations had been laid in readiness for the structure to be imposed, as in all other like cases for years past, proposals were made for the furnishing of material and the erection of the building upon due schedule and invitation from the Department having charge of the work. Bids were made by several well-known and responsible contractors, and when it was discovered that the lowest bid was from a firm engaged in the granite business, at whose head was a prominent Republican, the Democrats of Augusta petitioned the Department to reject all bids and to allow the work to be done by the Government, which, through its agent, should employ and pay the men; and, for the first time in the whole course of the business of erecting public buildings for the General Government, this was assented to and this course adopted by the Department.

It is not a great matter, sir; but I venture to say that the laboring-man of Augusta who will not vote the Democratic ticket next year will have as little chance for employment upon the public building there as he would if he were an inmate of the State's prison.

The Secretary of the Navy is about laying the keel of two great war-ships to be built in two of the navy-yards under his management. Whether he takes personal part in it or not, it will be seen to that every man who is given employment in the building of those ships contributes not only his labor but his vote for retaining in power the present Administration.

There is no device, no plan of campaign, resorted to by the Democratic party in the days of Polk, and Pierce, and Buchanan, to retain control of the National Government, that will not be resorted to this year.

I turn back to a volume lying before me and read the testimony that was taken as to the practices of Democracy in the last years of the administration of President Buchanan. In raising funds for the party, with which to fight its political battles, no possible place of resource was left unvisited or untaxed. The clerks in Departments, the tide waiters by the sea, the light-keepers along the coast, the postmasters, were all inexorably doomed. The navy-yards were a unit for the party. The contractors were assessed and reassessed and assessed again.

The exposure of the corruptions attending the naval contracts of

Live Oak Swift helped, no little, to swell the avalanche of public sentiment that at last swept the Democratic party out of power.

Mr. President, no matter what has been written and proclaimed by the head of the present Administration, no matter what may be hereafter written and proclaimed from that source, these things which have been are the things which will be, and in the management and practices of the Democratic party there will be found no new thing under the sun.

In the mean time, Mr. President, it is a fair question to ask: Where will the Independents be?



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